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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD--INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE SEVEN.

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD: INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE SEVEN

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LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD:
INDO-PACIFIC FASCICLE SEVEN

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7.0. Mon-Khmer in the Southeast Asian mainland

7.1. Mnong

7.2. Khmer

7.3. Other information, including a list of Mon-Khmer languages

8.0. Vietnamese as a language family

8.1. Vietnamese

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

7.0. As already mentioned, André G. Haudricourt has been cited as postulating the common descent or family relationship of Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer languages (in the Japanese Languages of the World books; in Meillet and Cohen Languages of the World; etc.). The Vietnamese-Mon-Khmer connection is based on such evidence as Haudricourt gives on the origin of Vietnamese tone (in Journal Asiatique, etc.). This particular relationship, as well as wider relationships that are supposed to include still other language families is a problem of phylum linguistics. The phylum linguistic problem is less escapable in discussing some Languages of the World (see Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One, and following fascicles) than in discussing Mon-Khmer and Vietnamese languages—two distinct language families that may be remotely related in one phylum, irrespective of whether that phylum comprises two or more than two language families—including also Thai, for example, if Kam-Thai is expanded to include Vietnamese. But in another possible assemblage of language families, under the rubric of 'Austro-Asiatic', Pinnow (1959) includes the Mon-Khmer family, but does not include the Vietnamese language family. In the Pinnow perspective, Vietnamese is unrelated to Mon-Khmer, while Malakka languages constitute a South group, Khasi-Nicobar-Salween a Central group, and Mon-Khmer a Southeastern group of Eastern Austro-Asiatic; and Western Austro-Asiatic comprises Munda and Nahali in India. These language families, and some others, are discussed in Languages of the World: Indo-Pacific Fascicle Eight.

Translated into our terms, the Pinnow perspective views the Mon-Khmer family as belonging to the same phylum that Munda belongs to, and views Vietnamese as not belonging. The chief virtue of phylum linguistics is that it may provide a sense of research direction, a programmatic map pointing out relatively more rewarding directions of investigation than others; but where

there are serious conflicts as to which language families are to be included in which phyla, the usual virtue of phylum linguistics is neutralized, as it is here.

Hereinafter, Mon-Khmer is taken as one language family spoken in an area of mainland Southeast Asia in which representatives of at least two other language families are also spoken—Vietnamese and the so-called Chamic languages of the Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) family that have already been discussed in Indo-Pacific Fascicle Four (4.1 and 4.3, 4.4). The country in which Mon-Khmer languages are centered is Cambodia where, however, there are also several enclaves of Malayo-Polynesian (Chamic languages); but Mon-Khmer languages are also spoken in large parts of Vietnam, and lesser parts of Laos, where they are flanked by Vietnamese and by Chamic languages, while in Cambodia itself, Mon-Khmer languages surround Chamic languages. The impact of French from colonial times continues to be audible in languages of all three language families mentioned. The earlier impact of Chinese leaves more traces in Vietnamese languages than in languages of the other two language families, although the occasional appearance of Chinese-like classifiers in phrase interiors is met with throughout all these Southeast Asian mainland languages. The impact of languages of India, notably Sanskrit, is especially noted below for Khmer (7.2), but is also felt in other of the interspersed language families on the mainland of Southeast Asia.

The relative prestige of languages from different language families interspersed among Mon-Khmer languages is well exemplified by the way Mnong speakers react to Rade, a Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) language. The Mnong are sensitive to the fact that Rade is the only written language in the whole province known to them, that it is the official language of the provincial

capital (Banmethout), that it is the language favored by administrators for use in school (for the first four years under French administration; for only one year under Vietnamese administration who then switch to Vietnamese). The Mnong react to all this by learning Rade as second language, and use it as a lingua franca not only for talking to people in the province who speak neither Mnong nor Rade as a native language, but also for speaking to people whose native language is Mnong but of a highly diversified dialect. That is to say, a speaker of Mnong dialect L (e.g. the Lam) may prefer to use Rade when having conversation with speakers of Mnong dialect X than to try to guess at the kinds of borrowing adapted in dialect X which are not used in dialect L. Both dialects of Mnong (L and X) are apt to have in common many loan words from Rade.

It is well known, as indicated above, that Mon-Khmer languages center in Cambodia and extend, as more or less marginal languages, into countries to the east and to the north of Cambodia (Vietnam and Laos). It is less well known that Mon-Khmer languages also extend to the west—from Cambodia through Thailand into Burma. The density of speakers in these two countries is by no means negligible. At least 245,000 people in Thailand speak Mon-Khmer languages, which the source for our language census gives in two parts: 60,000 Mon and 185,000 Cambodians—presumably non-Mon speakers of some other more 'national' Mon-Khmer language. Rather than more representatives in neighboring Thailand than in Burma, which is separated from Cambodia by Thailand, there are almost twice as many Mon-Khmer people in Burma than in Thailand. The source for our language census gives a total of 400,000 Mon-Khmer in Burma, specifies that they are Mon (rather than Khmer), and further specifies that they are being assimilated to the national language, Burmese; this presumably

means that the Mon speakers in Burma are becoming increasingly bilingual (Mon-Burmese).

Counting the area covered by countries in which Mon-Khmer languages are spoken—say from Rangoon or Mandalay to within a stone's throw of the South China Sea—makes Mon-Khmer languages more widespread than the languages of any other language family on the Southeast Asian mainland, even though Cambodia itself is in general smaller than the countries which flank it geographically. The Overseas Chinese are also dense in population, but are relatively recent newcomers. And the Overseas Chinese represent but one family out of several Sino-Tibetan families whose speakers live on the mainland of Southeast Asia where also still other languages are spoken that belong to several other language families treated in Indo-Pacific Fascicle Eight. The far-flung Mon-Khmer languages are so situated as to have opportunity to make contact with neighboring speakers of many diverse languages—more so than languages belonging to any other language family in Southeast Asia.

The languages of the Mon-Khmer family are listed below (7.3), under the following group names:

Mon (one language)

Cambodia (nine languages)

Chama (four languages)

Mnong (eight languages)

Bahnar (eight languages)

Sedang (six languages)

Brao (six languages)

Jaru (three languages)

Kuoy (four languages)

Suoy (eight languages)

In the list given by Pinnow (1959) Bih is erroneously included as a ninth language under Mnong—erroneously, because Bih is one of the so-called Chamic languages and therefore Malayo-Polynesian rather than Mon-Khmer in family affiliation. Where we lacked independent information, we copied names from the Pinnow (1959) list, even though it is not entirely reliable.

7.1. The original version of sentences here analyzed was transcribed by Henry Blood from a Mon-Khmer language, Mnong, spoken in the village called Lam, in an orthography for computer use, but subsequently realphabetized as follows: /p t c k ʔ/ for voiceless stops. The four linear distinctions of oral stops are matched by voiced stops, /b d j g/; nasals, /m n ny ŋ/; and prenasalized voiced stops. Three of the voiced stops /b d j/ (but not /g/) also appear in a preglottalized series, and the sequence glottal stop plus voiced stop yields an implosive stop phonetically. Only two fricatives are distinguished /s h/, two liquids, /l r/, and two semivowels. The vowels /i e/ are followed by /y/ when somewhat higher; /o u/ by /w/ when somewhat higher. These four vowels and /a/ are written doubled, as /aa/, when longer.

In (1) to (15), following, Subject phrase precedes or follows V phrase, in sentences in which there is no Object phrase.

Profile [S phrase] [V phrase] for sentences (1) to (12):

(1) That group is ignorant.

bal han niih plip

[group that subj.][people ignorant]

The interior of the second or V phrase shows the order modified-modifier.

(2) Our group is intelligent.

bal ban niih gitiy

[group our subj.][people intelligent]

(3) That child is seriously ill.

kuuaan naay han jhaam ŋan

[child person that subj.] [ill very]

(4) He has a fine character.

muuh mat nuuiyh tuur kan han rowmi prooiy

[(nose eye) (heart ear) his subj.] [beautiful pleasant]

The two parentheses in the first or [S phrase] points to a compound-like sequence of paired morphemes. The first pair (nose eye) means face, while (heart ear) means internal of body.

(5) This is yours.

poop eeh haw ee dii toom

[thing it here subj.] [female-your possession own]

M m m M m m

(6) He is rich.

kan han niih ndroŋ

[he subject] [person rich]

(7) She is already old.

dee laay ʔuwran

[she] [already old]

(8) My father is already dead.

baap any lay khit

[father my] [already dead]

M M m M

(9) I'll only use it.

any yuuaa googuw

[I] [use only]

M M m

(10) The sweet little one is smiling.

uw-penj goom

[he-favorable] [smiles]

(11) The communists only do evil.

bal briy mho? tiyh goo-guw

[group forest] [do bad only]

(12) The rain continued coming.

miyh eeh saak huw-haay

[rain it] [come continue]

Profile [V phrase] [S phrase] for sentences (13) to (15):

(13) There are only two persons.

maw baar naw niih guw

[present] [(two classifier person) only]

The parentheses in the second or [S phrase] point to modifier-modifier-modified order—where numeral and classifier precede phrase nucleus. The parenthesis as a whole is then in modified-modifier order before modifier glossed only.

(14) There was a lot of firewood and dry trees.

maw piaas buu? ndraan buu?

[present][(firewood large) (dry tree large)]

The parentheses point to a pair of Subjects in the [S phrase]. Within each parenthesis the order is modified-modifier.

(15) I am very tired.

ar ŋan any

[tired very] [I]

Profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] for sentences (16) to (24); the same profile appears in (25) to (28)—sentences in which the Object phrase interior shows the classifier order of modifier-modifier-modified.

(16) I will buy something.

any runaat poop naaiy

[I] [buy] [thing people]

The Object phrase interior shows the modified-modifier order which might be Englished as people-thing—that is, something for humans.

(17) They lit the fire.

nay pheŋ iny

[people] [light] [fire]

(18) May I have your tin?

any tiya thaao mee

[I] [beg] [tin male-your]

(19) They roasted the poor fellow.

naay buwh uwpeŋ

[people] [roast] [him-favorable]

(20) His grandparent kept asking many people.

yo kan luwp huwy-haay ok niih

[grandparent his] [ask continually] [many person]

(21) I'm making a clay pot.

any mruaan dlaah

[I] [make] [pot]

(22) I'm going to treat the child.

any sak mdraaw kuwaan naaiy

[I] [go medicate] [child people]

(23) I'm working for some people.

any mho? brɯa? naay

[I] [do work] [people]

(24) The dog bit him.

saw kap kan

[dog]$_a$ [bite]$_b$ [3rd masc.]$_c$

This sentence may be reordered from a b c, as cited, to c a b, without change of message, or to c b a, with change of message.

(25) He has an elephant.

kan geeh juw buuk yo

[he] [have] [one classifier elephant]

(26) He has seven elephants.

kan geeh pro buuk yo

[he] [have] [seven classifier elephant]

(27) He has eight beautiful shirts.

kan geeh phaam dap aao nhap

[he] [have] [(eight article shirt) pretty]

The parentheses point to the classifier order in which modifiers precede modified; but the parenthesis functions as modified before the modifier glossed pretty.

(28) He has seven rice fields.

kan geeh pro puuaar lo?

[he] [have] [seven classifier field]

Profile [S phrase] [EO-V phrase]:

(29) You give me that.

mee ?an any iy

[male-you] [give me keep]

In sentences with Embedded Object in the Verb phrase, as here and in (30), the [EO-V phrase] begins with a phrase introducer glossed give (29) and want (30); such phrase introducers are minor morphemes—i.e. satellites or auxiliaries to phrase nucleus, glossed keep (29) and go (30).

(30) I want you to go.

any ndoom mee sak

[I] [want male you go]

Profile [S phrase] [EO-V phrase] [O phrase] appears in sentences (31) and (32) following. The profile for (33) specifies Location finally—i.e. has final [L phrase] rather than [O phrase].

(31) The Sa chief has us build a road.

khuwaa sa saŋ hiy mho? trowŋ

[chief Sa] [require we exclusive make] [road]

(32) I want you to sweep the house.

any ?an mee weeh hiy

[I] [give male you sweep] [house]

(33) I was made to report to the Bureau yonder.

naay troh any hin taa ?biyrow tɨ

[people] [send-away me report] [to bureau yonder-to-east]

The final [L phrase] begins with phrase introducer, glossed to.

Profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] appears in sentences (35) to (40), following; and in each sentence the [L phrase] begins with one phrase introducer, glossed to or at; or another glossed with; or another glossed

among. In other profiles, as for sentences (41) to (46), the [L phrase] is initial rather than final, and gives Location of time rather than of place (with or without phrase introducer in [L phrase]). In profiles which include [O phrase], the [L phrase] appears as a final or medial phrase, and specifies Location of place in sentences (47) and (48).

(35) I like him.

any khap taa kan

[I] [like] [to him]

(36) His grandmother returned to her own house.

yo kan dee plo? taa hiyh dee toom

[grandparent his she] [return home] [to house her own]

(37) He will give it to you.

uw peŋ mraa ?an taa bemee

[he-favorable] [future give] [to you-plural]

(38) I live at my mother's house.

any guuk taa hiyh may any

[I] [live] [at house mother my]

(39) He went with some other people.

kan 'sak bak niih diih

[he] [go] [with person different]

(40) The Vietnamese are doing it among themselves.

bal yuuaan taŋ mho? ndaŋ eeh toom

[group Vietnam] [together do] [among them own]

(41) After a while, there was a lot of rain.

jok taa ian man miyh mbal ŋan

[long time to there] [present] [rain much very]

(42) The following day Lea's child became gravely ill.

blaah tanaw uwpeŋ kuuon dee lia? jhaam ŋan

[like tomorrow] [he favorable child she Lea] [sick very]

(43) Now you feed Cindy.

iaw ee laŋ siam dee sindiy

[now] [female you] [cause nourish] [her Cindy]

(44) After awhile Lia bore a child.

jok taa ian dee lia? guk iny lowŋ

[long time to there] [she Lia] [sit fire firewood]

taa juw naw kuuon dee

[to one classifier child her]

(45) Today people call the lake "Fly Chicken".

ian naar aw naay nan daak paar iiaar

[that day this] [people] [name water] [fly chicken]

The phrase interior of the [V phrase] shows the usual modified-modifier order, as if we were to say in English they water-name it before the name of a lake.

(46) When they grew up they married.

dii laaiy tiih bal han taŋ guk uwr saaiy

[when after old] [group subj.] [both sit (wife husband)]

The parenthesis points to a modifier after the modified which is glossed sit.

(47) They saw alligators swimming to-and-fro.

buw dee so yaa eeh ray to?to? awaw

[plural she] [see] [alligator] [it swim] [there-there here-here]

(48) The spirit people tied his limbs.

bal niih čak handoh čap jeŋ tiy uwpeŋ

[group person spirit] [there] [tie] [leg arm him-favorable]

Profile [Inter. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase] appears in sentences (49) to (51), following. So similarly, (52) but without [L phrase]. The Interrogative appears Embedded, after phrase introducer and before Embedded Subject in sentence (53). But the [Inter. phrase] appears either as the first phrase of a profile, as (54)—and as (49) to (51)—or as the last phrase of a profile, as (55) and (56).

(49) Where are you going to?

tuuk mee sak han doh

[where] [male you] [go] [there]

(50) When are you going to return to your village?

tuuk taa nan mee plow taa uua mee?

[where to day] [male you] [return home] [to village male your]

(51) Why do you want to go to Uwon Thuwot?

poop mho? mee khoom sak taa uwon thuwot

[what do] [male you] [want go] [to Uwon Thuwot]

(52) Where do you live?

tuk mee guk

[where] [male you] [live]

(53) Can I go to Banmethuot?

dooiy yaa any sak taa uwon thuwot

[can question I go] [to Banmethuot]

(54) How can I fix my vehicle?

poop mho? any dooiy niykraa deeh any

[what do] [I] [can fix] [vehicle my]

(55) How are you?

mee galsak jan yaa

[male you] [good body] [question]

(56) Are these your bananas?

eeh haw priyt mee yaa

[it subj.] [banana male your] [question]

The place of the Negative phrase is before or after [S phrase], in the next four profiles exemplified below.

Profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] for sentences (57) to (59):

(57) They didn't know.

naay ay so git

[people] [not non.imp.][know]

(58) He really cannot run.

kan han ayso dooiy thuwl ŋan

[he subject] [not] [can run very]

(59) He alone did not eat.

čoonguw kan ay so saa

[only he] [not non.imp.] [eat]

Profile [Neg. phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase] for sentences (60) and (61):

(60) I won't keep it.

ay so any nyut

[not non.imp.] [I] [hand hold]

This sentence is reorderable in non-contrastive syntax to the profile exemplified for sentences (57) to (59), above.

(61) Don't you tell.

ay raw buw mee teyteyh

[not imperative][plural male you] [tell-tell]

Profile [S phrase] [Neg. phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase] for sentences (62) to (64), following. So similarly, but with initial [Neg. phrase] for (65):

(62) They didn't get any deer.

naay	ay	so	geeh	jil	poom
[people]	[not	non.imp.]	[get]	[barking	deer]

(63) We don't know about your grandchild.

hiy	ay	so	git	so	ee
[we]	[not	non.imp.]	[know]	[grandchild	female your]

(64) They didn't get any deer.

bal	han	ay	so	dooly	geeh	jil	pem
[group	that]	[not	non.imp.]	[can	get]	[barking	deer]

(65) He didn't go with us.

ay	so	kan	sak	bak	hiy
[not	non.imp.]	[he]	[go]	[with	us]

Profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [V phrase] for sentences (66) to (68) shows the verb nucleus to be followed by /wiih/ glossed again in the first [V phrase] and by /sit/, also glossed again, in the following echoed [V phrase]. The paired morphemes for again may also appear in a single [V phrase], as in sentences (69) and (70):

(66) He rose again.

kan	dek	wiih	breyh	sit
[he]	[stand	again]	[alive	again]

(67) They wanted to kill him again.

baal	han	čiaŋ	wiih	laŋ	khit	kan	sit
[group	subject]	[want	again]	[cause	dead	him	again]

(68) I want you to return here.

any saŋ mee wiih sak taa aaw sit

[I] [require male you again] [come (to here) again]

(69) You make it beautiful again.

mee wiih laŋ nhap sit

[male you] [again (cause pretty) again]

(70) You make it beautiful again.

mee wiih mho? rowm sit

[male you][again (make beautiful) again]

Phrase boundaries are shown in the remaining sentences, (71) to (92):

(71) There was one orphan child who accompanied them.

maw juw naw niih kuw ?doi saak ree

[present] [one classifier person child orphan] [go follow]

boo kan

[plural him]

(72) His mouth was gagged with rags.

brua yuuey uwpeŋ nay siyt taa suw diyeeŋ

[mouth his favorable] [people] [gag] [with cloth worn]

(73) He only watched people eat.

kan triaŋ guw naay saa

[he] [watch] [only people] [eat]

The profile here shows a pivotal phrase, glossed [only people], which functions as object of the preceding [V phrase] and as subject of the following [V phrase].

(74) In the group that went hunting, there were some real people and some spirit people.

bal sak woo-waŋ han maw ?ba?-?ba? niih ŋan

[group go hunt-hunt subj.] [present] [some person real]

ʔbaʔ-ʔbaʔ niih čăk

[some person spirit]

(75) I got cut with an axe.

eeh sreeh any taa wiah

[it cut] [me] [to axe]

(76) I miss my parents.

eeh ŋeeh tuur any taa may baap

[it wakes] [ear my] [to mother father]

(77) I study a lot in order to learn.

any riiaam raaʔ ek ŋan čiaŋ biy git

[I] [study letter much very] [for to know]

(78) As soon as we reached Uon Ndraĥi, we began studying Rolom.

mhay hiy truuk taa uuon ndray hiy

[new we-exclusive arrive] [to Uon Ndraĥi] [we-exclusive]

daaŋ riyeem poop lam

[start study] [thing Rolom]

(79) After eating, the people drank wine.

laay naay saa naay nyiyt noom

[past people eat] [people] [drink] [wine]

(80) He thinks that he can do as he pleases.

kan han tuun dei nihow tuwiysiy kan ciiaaŋ

[he subj.] [think able do] [according to he want]

(81) I'm going to some group's wine party.

any sak tiam noom naaiy

[I] [go] [party wine people]

(82) After awhile they rested because they were tired.

laay jok taa ian bal han njoh keyuadaah ar

[already long time to there] [group subject] [rest] [reason tired]

(83) When you finish working at Uan Thuat you come here again.

dii mee laay lee? mho? brua? taa uan thuat mee

[when (you) already finish] [do work] [at Uan Thuat] [you]

wiih sak sit taa aw

[again come again] [to here]

(84) So, when he was already done they roasted him there.

blaah ian too laay sin naay buwh uwpeŋ

[like that] [when already done] [people] [roast] [him-favorable

han

subject]

(85) When he knew that, he slipped out first.

dii kan git blah ian luar kan duw muac

[when he know like that] [first] [he] [go away secretly]

(86) A long time ago there was a group of men from Uan Ndham who went hunting deer.

yaw laak maw tlatlaw bal uan ndhaam sak

[long time before] [present] [male group Uan Ndham] [go

woweŋ jil poom

hunt-hunt] [barking deer]

(87) She again asked the person who arrived later.

dee wiih luwp sit niih sak taane?

[she] [again ask again] [person] [come afterward]

(88) I feel the same as you.

any ndroom blaah ee

[I] [same like] [you]

(89) His grandmother became very angry when she heard his report.

yo kan haw nus ŋan dee toŋ kan han

[grandparent his] [rise heart very] [she] [hear] [him subject]

teyteyh

[report]

(90) She took her dog, wrapped him in a loincloth, put a blouse on him, wrapped him in a cloth, and climbed a very high ge-giar tree.

dee sok kuan saw dee laŋ truany suw

[she] [take] [creature dog] [she] [cause wrap] [loincloth]

soh aaw paan koon lay han dee haaw meŋ toom

[wear] [blouse] [wrap] [cloth] and [she] [climb] [in trunk

chiy gegiar jua ŋan

tree ge-giar high very]

(91) There are only two persons who are in a position to know.

maw cowŋguw baar naw niih dooiy git

[present] [only two classifier person] [can know]

(92) The Jaw is the person who chants for sick people.

jaw njiiŋ niih hihim uwn niih jiy

[Jaw] [is] [person chant help] [person sick]

KHMER

7.2. The brief sample of Khmer sentences provided by Phillip Jenner, of the University of Hawaii, shows a highly symmetrical vowel system of the 3 (FB) type, in which Front vowels are contrasted with Back vowels at three tongue heights—high /i u/, mid /e o/ and low /a ɔ/, together with long-short contrasts for each vowel, and tone or stress marked. Other sources for Khmer show as many as 5 (FB) contrasts, and also a central vowel at mid tongue height. Other sources agree generally with the following consonant inventory, excerpted from the sentence sample (but write /t ʸ/ instead of the affricate /c/, and match neither this affricate nor the velar stop with voiced contrasts):

p	t	c	k	ʔ
b	d	j	g	
	s		h	
v				
m	n	ñ	ŋ	
	l r			
w	y			

Vowel clusters are frequently found in the sentences—both non-identical (ie, ae, uo, ua, oa, ao, aɔ), and geminate (ii, uu, ee, aa, oo, ɔɔ). Consonant clusters also occur, both the geminate (tt, cc), and non-identical (kn, kh, th, cm, sr, khñ, pht, phn). Consonants and vowels may occur initially, medially, and finally in words (i.e. units separated by space), in the following sentences.

The size of the corpus precludes a profile analysis of Khmer. The sample of sentences below are given only with phrase brackets, and the comments are directed mainly to phrase interiors.

(1) My shirt is in the closet.

aav sɑwmiis roboh khŏɔm new knɔ̀ŋ tuu

[(coat chemise) property my] [at in closet]

In the first phrase (in brackets), the parentheses draw attention to a modified-modifier order; /sɑwmiis/ is a French loanword. Final /-s/ is found mostly in loan words.

(2) Can one see all the temples in one day?

mool prasaat teẽ̄ ɔh knɔ̀ẽ̄ muoj thŋaj baan

[see] [temple as much as complete][in one day] [able]

ry tee

[or not]

The final phrase interior is the most common interrogative marker in Khmer.

(3) There is a law now against smoking in movie theaters.

ej low nih mien cbàp muoj haam min ɔoj

[that time this] [have] [law one] [forbid (not give)

cu? barej new knɔ̀ŋ roon kon

(eat tobacco)] [at in hall movie]

In the third phrase, /cbàp/ law is a derivative of /cap/ seize with infix /-b-/ instrument marker.

(4) In America, the third Thursday of November is called Thanksgiving Day.

new prɔ̀tih amèèrikaa thŋaj prɔhɔ̀h tii bej knɔ̀ŋ

[in land America] [(day Brhas place three) in

khae viccikae haw thaa thŋaj thanksgiving

(month scorpio)] [call quotation (day thanksgiving)]

The second phrase (in brackets) contains two parenthesized groups. The first

group contains a nucleus /thŋaj/ day, followed by three modifiers, the first being /prɔ̀hɔ̀h/ from Sanskrit bṛhaspati Thursday. The second parenthesized group has another modified-modifier order; /viccikae/ scorpio means November.

(5) Whose house is she staying in?

nieŋ new phteh nie? ɔ naa

[miss] [at house person] [which]

The first phrase contains one word /nieŋ/, cognate to Thai /naŋ/. /nie?/ in the second phrase is a loan from either Cham or Malay.

(6) Historically, the city of Phnom Penh takes its name from this hill.

taam prɔ̀vattesah tii kroŋ phnum pèŋ tɔ̀ tuol

[follow history] [place city Phnom Penh] [carry-carry]

cmuh pii phum nuh

[name] [from hill this]

/prɔ̀vattesah/ is cognate with Sanskrit /pravṛttiśastra/—the study of news. In the third phrase, the nucleus is partially reduplicated.

(7) Who are you going to write a letter to today?

thŋaj nih aèñ sɔ̀sèè sɔ̀mbot pñaɔ tew naa

[day this] [you] [write letter] [send go] [who]

(8) The Indian shops have a lot of new fabrics for sale.

phteh klɔŋ mien lua? krɔ̀ɔ̀nat tmej tmej craɔn nah

[house Indian] [have sell] [fabric new-new much very]

In the first phrase, /klɔŋ/ is from Sanskrit /kaliñga/.

(9) Tomorrow evening I want you to have dinner with me.

yuap s'aek nih khñɔ̀m cɔ̀ŋ ɔ̀ñcɔɔñ look tew piisaa

[evening tomorrow this] [I] [want invite] [you] [go eat]

baaj cie muoj khnom

[rice] [as one me]

(10) What is the hot taste from--pepper or curry?

ciet hèl nih moak pii ovej— mrèc ry kryɔŋ karii

[flavor hot this] [come] [from what] [pepper or powder curry]

(11) This pencil is so soft it gets dull right away.

kmaw daj nih dèt nah haɔj chap tiel nah

[black bar this] [soft very] then [quick dull very]

(12) This pencil is so short I cannot write with it.

kmaw daj nih klej nah sɔsèè baan tee

[pencil this] [short very] [write not able not]

(13) You can go there either by car or by plane.

kee aac tew faam roat yuan kɔɔ baan

[one] [can go] [follow vehicle moving then able]

taam roat hɔh kɔɔ baan

[follow vehicle fly then able]

In the third and fourth phrases, the introducer glossed follow functions as connector.

(14) The motor is not warm enough yet.

masiin min toan kdaw sruol tee

[engine] [not yet heat right not]

(15) Let it run some more.

tuk ɔoj vie dao bɔntèc tiet taw

[keep let] [it] [walk little more go]

(16) My son is getting bigger every day, but he's still not as tall as I.

kown	khñom	thom	muoj	thŋaj	bòntèc	muoj	thŋaj
child	me	big	one	day	little	one	day
bòntèc	pontae	vie	new	tae	min	kompuah	khñom
little	but	he	at	only	not	height	me

LIST OF MON-KHMER LANGUAGES

7.3. The distribution of Mon-Khmer languages, as mentioned above (7.0), covers more ground than that of any other one language family on the Southeast Asian mainland. Nine of the ten groups of Mon-Khmer languages are found in Cambodia, South Vietnam, Thailand, and southern Laos; it is only the tenth (Mon) that is restricted to Burma and Thailand. Both Mon and Khmer are spoken in scattered areas of Thailand. Khmer, but not Mon, is interspersed with other languages in Vietnam. But it is in Cambodia alone that Khmer is spoken over a wide continuous area. There are at least two other Mon-Khmer languages that are spoken in solid or continuous areas (rather than in numerous areas into which speakers have dispersed among languages belonging to other language families):

Nialuok (of the Kuoy group)

Samre (of the Cambodia group).

Both Nialuok and Samre are spoken entirely in southeastern Thailand. Most Mon-Khmer speakers in eastern Vietnam do not have ready access to the sea because they are separated from the coast by a linguistic corridor occupied by Vietnamese speakers and speakers of various Chamic (Malayo-Polynesian) languages.

The ten Mon-Khmer groups contain some 55 languages, altogether, spoken by a total of well over four million speakers. The list of these languages is given below, according to the group affiliation set up by Pinnow (1959).

MON GROUP

Mon (Peguan, Talaing) is spoken in two widely separated areas, one the eastern delta region of Burma (from east of Rangoon as far as Ye), the other west of Bangkok, Thailand (in Rat Buri and Kanchanaburi Provinces along the Khwae Noi River up to the Burmese border). The total number of speakers is 415,000 (350,000 in Burma). The Mon of Thailand are bilingual; they also speak Thai. Mon dialects include:

Mon Tang (Pegu)

Mon Te (Martaban-Moulmein)

Mon Nya (Ye).

CAMBODIAN GROUP

The total number of speakers of the half dozen languages in the Cambodian group is probably four million. The predominant language of Cambodia is clearly Khmer, since seven-eighths of the people in Cambodia speak this language.

(1) Khmer is spoken by some 3,500,000 speakers located over most of Cambodia, and by an additional 185,000 speakers located in eastern Thailand. Khmer is also spoken in a few scattered areas in southern South Vietnam.

(2) Pär-(Por, Pear) Samre. Pär is spoken in a small area in Cambodia between Phnom Penh and the Thailand border. Samre is spoken in Thailand, southeast of Bangkok. It is the westernmost language (or rather dialect) of the Cambodian Group.

(3) Chong (Shong, Xong, Kui) is spoken in Cambodia, along the Thailand border northwest of the Pär.

(4) Angrak-(Anskrak, Ansrak) Sauch (Saotch) is spoken in several coastal areas of Cambodia.

(5) Stieng is the easternmost language of the Cambodian group, being spoken on both sides of the Vietnam-Cambodia border north of Saigon.

(6) Budeh-Dip (no details available).

CHAMA GROUP

The four languages of the Chama group are spoken northeast of Saigon, Vietnam, bounded in the south by Vietnamese, in the northwest by Stieng and Mnong, and in the north and east by Chamic (Malayo-Polynesian) languages. Chrau is the southernmost language in this group.

(1) Ma (Maa, Chau-Ma)

(2) Sop

(3) Koho (Kahov, Sre)

(4) Chrau (Trao)

Chato and Chasre seem also to belong to this Chama group, but their linguistic status is uncertain.

MNONG GROUP

(Pnong, Phnong, Penong, Mjong)

At least eight languages belong to the Mnong group. These languages are spoken north of Stieng and the Chama languages in Cambodia and Vietnam. In the northeast, they are bounded by Chamic (Malayo-Polynesian) languages.

(1) Biat (Biet, Bhiet)

(2) Bunur (Bunar)

(3) Rahong

(4) Nong

(5) Badung

(6) Gar (Mnong-Gar)

(7) Kil

(8) Ralam (Rolum)

Preng, Tipri and Preh seem also to belong to this group but their linguistic status is uncertain.

BAHNAR GROUP

The eight Bahnar languages are spoken in Vietnam, immediately to the southeast of the Sedang group (see below):

(1) Bahnar (Banhar)

(2) Rangao (Rangao, Rongao)

(3) Jalung

(4) Galar

(5) Halong

(6) Hagu

(7) Banum

(8) Moi Davak

SEDANG GROUP

The six Sedang languages are spoken in the area where the borders of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam converge, mainly in Vietnam.

(1) Sedang

(2) Dadrah

(3) Halang (Haleng, Alang, Selong)

(4) Rangao (Hamong)

(5) Kamrang

(6) Hajung

BRAO GROUP

There are at least six languages in the Brao group. They are spoken in the extreme northeastern corner of Cambodia and in adjoining Laos.

(1) Brao (Prou, Lue; Krăng also included here)

(2) Pragar

(3) Sue

(4) Su-khok (Suk, Su)

(5) Khvek (Kowet, Kravet)

(6) Campuon.

Kha Tampuen, Tampuon, Proon, and Lamam are also included here.

JƏRU GROUP (Boloven)

This group of three languages is located in the extreme southern area of Laos, west of the Sedang languages.

(1) Boloven (Jru)

(2) Hun (Hin, Niahon)

(3) Oi (Huei)

KUOY GROUP

(Cuoi, Kui, Khamen boran, Old Khmer)

The four languages of the Kuoy group are spoken in the area where the borders of Thailand, Laos and Cambodia converge. Their eastern boundary is the Mekong River from which they extend for about 200 miles westward on both sides of the Thailand-Cambodia border. Still further west, Nialuok is spoken entirely in Thailand.

(1) Mahai

(2) Antor

(3) Malo

(4) Nialuok (Chhao-bon)

SUOY GROUP

This is the northernmost group of the Mon-Khmer Family. At least

eight Suoy languages are spoken over a fairly large area in south-central Laos and adjoining Vietnam bounded in the south by the Jəru Group (in Laos) and the Sedang Group (in Vietnam). Some of the languages of this group also extend into Thailand.

(1) Kaseng (Koseng)

(2) Alak

(3) Kontu

(4) Veh (Lave, Love)

(5) Tahoi (Kha Tahoi)

(6) Kha Lung (Kaleung)

(7) So (Kha So)

(8) Moi-Ca-lo'

Duon, Chari (Shari), Khoi, Sek and Saek seem also to belong to this group, but their linguistic status is uncertain.

In addition to the above list, there are other Mon-Khmer language names (contributed by Summer Institute of Linguistics' fieldworkers) whose affiliation with the above groups is not certain. Three of these may be includable in the Sedang group, thereby increasing the size of that group by fifty percent:

Jeh

Cua

Hre.

Another three language or dialect names may be includable in the Suoy Group, possibly under Kontu (3):

Katu

Bru

Pokoh (Pacŏh).

Two of the sound systems have been discussed above, that for Khmer in the Cambodia group (7.2) and that for Rolum (Lam village) in the Mnong group (7.1). Inventories of the phonemes of a few other Mon-Khmer languages, after Pinnow (1959) and Ralph Haupers, Word-Final Syllabics in Stieng, Van-Hoa Nguyet-San 11. 846-8 (1962), are given below.

All five of the inventories given below as well as the two above, show five linear distinctions for stops, with four oral stops matched by four nasals at the same linear distinction points. All five of the languages below have a possible additional series of aspirated stops, here treated as clusters of stops plus /h/, hence not shown in the inventories.

Mon (Mon Group)

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	ɤ	u
ʾb	ʾd				e	ʌ	o
	s			h	ɛ	a	ɔ
m	n	n^y	ŋ		plus length		
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Clusters of two non-identical vowels are frequent.

Stieng (Cambodian Group)

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	uu	u
b	d	d^y	g		e	ɤ	o
ʾb	ʾd				ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
	s			h		a	
m	n	n^y	ŋ		plus length		
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Srê (Chama Group)

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	ɨ	u
b	d	d^y	g		I	ə	U
ʼb	ʼd	$ʼd^y$			e	a	o
	s			h			
m	n	n^y	ŋ				
	l						
	r						
w		y					

Vowels occur with four tones: (1) hi, (2) hi fall, (3) lo, (4) lo rise. Syllable final glottalized consonants are treated as clusters of consonant plus glottal stop. Interaction of tone plus length gives rise to a different analysis of the vowels (William A. Smalley, JAOS 74, 217-222, 1954).

Chrau (Chama Group)

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	uu	u
b	d	d^y	g		e	ɤ	o
	s	š		h		a	
m	n	n^y	ŋ		plus length		
	l						
	r						
v	y						

Bahnar (Bahnar Group)

p	t	t^y	k	ʔ	i	uu	u
b	d	d^y	g		e	ɤ	o
ʼb	ʼd	$ʼd^y$			ɛ	a	ɔ
		š		h	plus length		

m	n	nʸ	ŋ
	l		
	ʼl		
	r		
w		y	
		ʼy	

Clusters of two non-identical vowels are frequent.

The first Publication of the Linguistic Circle of Saigon has now appeared (Mon-Khmer Studies I, 1964, including three papers on Bahnar, two papers on Brôu, two on Pacôh, and an introduction and final paper by David D. Thomas, surveying the literature behind the phylum linguistic controversies briefly mentioned by us in 7.0, above).

8.0. In the 1924 Les Langues du Monde, Przyluski classified Vietnamese in the Austroasiatic macro-phylum (the 'Austro-Asiatic' mentioned in the context of Mon-Khmer, above, 7.0); for Przyluski, Vietnamese constitutes one of the three main divisions of this macro-phylum, coordinate with the Munda family of India and with the Mon-Khmer family, discussed in the preceding chapter. But both H. J. Pinnow (1959), and his Austroasiatic (Austric) predecessor, Wilhelm Schmidt (1907) exclude Vietnamese from the controversial macro-phylum.

So far as Vietnamese is concerned, the controversy turns into a tug-of-war in which one side strains toward the west (India and the westward extending Mon-Khmer languages) while the other side attempts to pull Vietnamese into affiliations with languages to the south and east (Kam-Thai — supposed by some to be related to the far-flung Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian) family). Maspero long ago opposed the proponents of a genetic connection between Vietnamese and Mon-Khmer (1911, 1915, and 1920); and more recently, in the 1952 Les Langues du Monde, Maspero maintained his old opposition but proposed a new phylum connection for Vietnamese — namely with Thai (Kam-Thai). But Maspero's novel proposal was immediately opposed by Haudricourt, on the general grounds that the lexical similarities shared by Vietnamese and Thai do not reflect cognates but instead bear evidence of widely diffused Southeast Asian lexical items; and that tonal developments reflect a typology common to the same area as well as to East Asia (Chinese).

There the matter rests — in controversy — and unless Norman Zide

(ed.) includes genetic evidence in his book of papers now in press to relate the Vietnamese family to other families in Southeast Asia and South Asia, Vietnamese cannot be regarded as having a secure place among the various proposals so far put forward in phylum linguistics.

In this report we take Vietnamese to be a separate language family, unrelated to any other. The two languages of the Vietnamese family are Vietnamese (Annamese) and Muong. Speakers of the Vietnamese language are estimated to number as few as 16 million (by the Japanese Languages of the World book (1955)), and as many as 25 million (by Milton Parker in Van-Hoa Ngnyet-San (1963)). About three-fourths of the speakers are located in the two Vietnams; the number of Vietnamese speakers living in Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos are said not to exceed 500,000 altogether.

Muong is spoken in the central highlands of North Vietnam, by 2,000 to 4,000 people.

For some time two alternate names were certainly used for the main language and for the country (and less certainly for the family):

(1) Annamese in Annam

(2) Vietnamese in Vietnam

The second pair of terms, Vietnamese and Vietnam is now displacing the first pair. The obsolescent term, Annam, may be glossed as pacified south (written in two Chinese characters, pronounced /an/ pacify and /nam/ south). Emeneau (1951) points out that the obsolescent name is objectionable because it is 'tainted with connotations of !"slavery"'; and it is unpleasantly

reminescent of former French colonialism.

The name now favored may be translated as non-Chinese south (written in two Chinese characters pronounced /viet/ non-Chinese and /nam/ south) — a name which became a symbol of nationalistic aspirations. After French domination ended, the country was called 'Vietnam'.

The extraordinary resentment, apparently aroused by French colonialism, was perhaps not really aroused in the modern colonial period; it may have been an expression of resentment continued from ancient colonialism. Annam had been ruled by China through five dynasties — from the Han dynasty on; and the country continued to maintain close post-domination relations with China ever since.

The Vietnamese had already begun to write Chinese toward the end of the Han dynasty and wrote their own literature in Chinese — in a foreign language as well as in a foreign writing system (characters). During the 14th Century they began to write in their own language — in Vietnamese.

As soon as they began to use Chinese characters for writing in their own quite different language, they introduced new phonetic values for some of the characters, but borrowed other characters unchanged. By this time, the Vietnamese language was already flooded with loans from Chinese; but such loans could be quickly distinguished from native Vietnamese vocabulary. This is reflected in the way Chinese characters were adapted for writing Vietnamese — in two types of borrowing. In the first type, new characters (chu'^{4} nộm^{1}) were devised for writing the native Vietnamese fraction of

the language; such new characters utilized some borrowed characters for the phonetic values of Vietnamese sounds, but combined them with other characters which functioned more as straight logograms, giving the meaning of Vietnamese words. In the second type, unaltered characters (chu'[4] nho[1]) were used for writing the borrowed Chinese fraction of the Vietnamese language. Together, these two types involved several interesting graphemic processes: (a) direct, unaltered borrowing, whether giving the value of the character in Chinese or using the character for its phonetic value; (b) simplification of the character in borrowing, whether the meaning value was retained and pronunciation disregarded, or the other way around; (c) coinage of new characters by combining old ones, again irrespective of function. For a more detailed exposition of such graphemic processes, and their influence on the grammar of the Vietnamese language, as touched upon lightly here and below, see Sanka Ichikawa and Harushige Kodzu, An Introduction to the Languages of the World, Vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1955): pp. 835-70 by Tooru Minetani.

One effect of the early borrowing from Chinese to Vietnamese came through loans which are compounds in Chinese. The rules of compounds of the donor language were followed when they were borrowed, rather than the Vietnamese rules which involve tone combinations.

Later borrowing from non-Chinese donors began with the 16th century arrival of European missionaries in Vietnam, mainly from Portugal, Spain and France. The missionaries lost no time in writing Vietnamese in Roman-

ized orthography. The earliest extant alphabetically written book is a 1649 Vietnamese-Latin-Portuguese dictionary which is said, however, to be derived from another dictionary, written earlier but no longer extant. Alphabetic writing became standardized (under the influence of 19th century French administration); and this standard is now adopted as the national writing system — a spelling orthography which approximates the phonemic distinctions made by the Vietnamese language reasonably well. The spelling over-differentiates in part, but dialect differences in the language as a whole make for confusion when any one dialect is taken as a standard. Except for a few letters (f j w z), the Vietnamese spelling orthography uses the letters of the modern Latin alphabet, with the addition of diacritics, including some for marking tone.

As already mentioned, the earliest loans from Chinese were recognized as such and distinguished terminologically; characters were given one label when they were used for writing Chinese loans, and another label when used for writing native Vietnamese words. So also the not inconsiderable borrowing from European languages, especially from French, was recognized as introducing non-Vietnamese elements into Vietnamese. These two sources of recognizably foreign loans — Chinese and European languages — may be treated orthographically as a single monolithic non-Vietnamese source. For example, some names may be Romanized according to a system for transliterating Chinese characters. One amusing consequence of this is that it is sometimes necessary to rewrite a Romanized place name or personal name

in Chinese characters to be sure of its identity. Transliterating from Chinese characters is still done in Vietnam today, attesting the continued use of character writing. But it is not the only thing done; there are two other usages which employ spelling orthography, either the French spelling orthography or the Vietnamese spelling orthography. Hence, a given name may be written in three different ways, as follows:

(1). Ca^{1} - ơu-c^{5} (transliterated from two Chinese characters)

(2). Goethe (in French spelling orthography)

(3). Gơ^{1} - tơ^{1} (in Vietnamese spelling orthography).

Beside what we would regard as two donors (Chinese and European languages), but what the Vietnamese may treat as one monolithic foreign source (non-Vietnamese), there are additional sources of loans which the Vietnamese do not feel to be loans at all, but accept as non-foreign — namely, borrowings from Thai and Mon-Khmer languages.

This brings us back to where we started, at the beginning of this section (8.0, above). If Thai and Mon-Khmer are genetically related to Vietnamese, then what we regard as loans are instead descended from a remote phylic proto-language, appearing today as cognates shared by some of the sister languages in three different language families (Kam-Thai, Mon-Khmer, and Vietnamese). Is this the ethnolinguistic view of the Vietnamese themselves? Or does it reflect a classification in which borrowings from the languages of colonizers are classified as foreign, while borrowings from the languages of non-colonizers are regarded as non-foreign?

8.1. Specialized students of the Vietnamese language distinguish three dialects:

(1) Northern (Tonkin) dialect, in North Vietnam, in the Tonkin plains regions;

(2) Central (High Annam) dialect along the narrow north-central coastal plains;

(3) Southern (Low Annam, Cochin China) dialect around southern Vietnam plains.

Maspero, however, thinks the Northern and Southern dialects share features which relate them closer to one another than to the Central dialect.

Dialect divisions reflect tonal variations and differences in consonant distribution (e.g. Southern dialect alone has /p/ in all word positions, including initial position; /p/ does not occur initially in other dialects). There is no single, recognized standard. Instead, a number of local standards exist, based on the way educated people talk in certain cities, notably the cities of Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon.

The phonemic inventory following, obtained from Doris W. Blood (unpublished manuscript), is for Vietnamese spoken in Saigon:

	t	ṭ	tʸ	k		i	ɨ	u	c	ɜ
	th						ə		o	ə
b	d			g			a			
f	s		s̄	x	h		+ length			
m	n			ñ						
w	l, r			y						

Tones:

high/ mid level	unmarked
high rising	1
low level	2
low rising	3
low slight rise	4

The following sentences of Saigon Vietnamese are from Doris W. Blood (after Emeneau, 1951) and from Blood's informant. In the sample of sentences, morphemes have been classified, as either major (M), or minor (m), or alternating ($\frac{m}{M}$ ~ $\frac{M}{m}$), with values as given in Sino-Tibetan Fascicle One (AL 6, No. 3). From a more extended sample of sentences, Doris W. Blood computed the following density count: M 70 percent, m 10 percent, leaving 20 percent of the morphemes of the type that function in some phrase interiors as minor morphemes ($\underline{\frac{m}{M}}$) but which alternate functionally in other phrase interiors — same morpheme but different phrase interior environment — as major morphemes ($\underline{\frac{M}{m}}$).

Sentences (1) through (7) show the profile [S(ubject) phrase] [V(erb) phrase].

(1) I'm going

toy	di
[I]	[go]
M	M

(2) The house is very tall

ka·y	ña^{2}	ki·	ka·w	lam^{1}
[classifier	house	that]	[tall	very]
m/M	M	m/M	M	M

Two general nominal classifiers occur in Vietnamese: /ka·y/ before inanimate objects and before a few small animate objects; /kɔŋ/ before non-human animate objects. The inanimate classifier /ka·y/ occurs as the introducer of the first, or [S phrase]. There are also about 200 special classifiers (see Nguyen-Dinh-Hoa, Wd 13.124-152(1957)). Note that the classifier of the [S phrase] may also be a phrase nucleus, or head, in some other phrase.

(3) This vehicle is going so slowly

sɛ	nay^{2}	di	t^{y}əm^{4}	t^{y}əm^{4}
[vehicle	this]	[go	(slow	slow)]
M	m/M	M	M	M

In the second — or Verb — phrase the parentheses enclose a reduplication construction. Complete reduplication is shown in both phonemic shape and message; thus it is phonological. Reduplication in sentence (3) above, and in the V phrase of sentence (4) below is for intensification purposes.

(4) This is rather small

kɔŋ	nay^{2}	ñɔ	ñɔ^{3}
[thing	this]	[small	small]
M/m	m/M	M	M

The components of the first — or Subject — phrase are two alternating morphemes. Here, /kɔŋ/ thing is the phrase nucleus (a major morpheme). When it acts as a minor morpheme /kɔŋ/ becomes a classifier. Here, /nay^2/ is a phrase closing minor morpheme glossed this. When alone in a phrase /nay/ is a major morpheme glossed hey, or, attention.

(5) This chair wobbles

ge^1	nay^2	luk^1	la^2	luk^1	lak^1
[chair	this]	[to	swing	to	swing]
M	m/M	M	M	M	M

In the second — or Verb — phrase a compound is partially reduplicated. Compound reduplication has a low frequency in Vietnamese.

(6) The rabbit was furious

tho^3	tɨk^1 yəŋ^4	lam^1
[rabbit]	[(angry-angry)	very]
M	M - M	m

A different kind of reduplication — semantic reduplication — is present in the second, or Verb phrase: two synonyms are juxtaposed. This kind of reduplication is also for intensification purposes. Semantic reduplication is treated as compounding (thus M-M). This method of compound formation is a favorite literary device in Vietnamese, and also in Chinese. The paucity of examples of semantic compounding in Vietnamese in these sentences is because most sentences are from non-literary sources.

(7) Are you going?

oŋ di xoŋ

[you] [go question]

M M m

In the second — or Verb — phrase, /xoŋ/ question is a phrase-closing particle for question-sentences for which a yes-or-no answer, or a statement-of-fact is being elicited.

(8) I lost a book

toy bi^4 mak^1 $ku\cdot ŋ^1$ $šək^1$

[I] [passive lose] [classifier book]

M $\frac{m}{M}$ M $\frac{m}{M}$ M

Sentences (8) through (21) have the order [S(ubject) phrase] [V(erb) phrase] [O(bject) phrase].

(9) My husband bought three ducks

$ña^2$ toy $mu\cdot^1$ ba kɔŋ yit^4

[house my] [buy] [three classifier duck]

M M M $\frac{m}{M}$ $\frac{m}{M}$ M

(10) I'm writing a letter

toy daŋ $yɛk^1$ thə·

[I] [continue write] [letter]

M m M M

In the second — or Verb — phrase, /daŋ/ glossed continue is a phrase

introducing particle marking progression.

(11) I'll also continue to do that work

toy	kuŋ^3	daŋ^3	šɛ^3	lam^2	yɛk^4	dɔ^1
[I]	[also	(continue	future)	do]	[work	that]
M	m	m	m	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$

In the second, or V phrase, /daŋ^3/ continue and /šɛ^3/ future are preverbal particles. Their relationship to M acting as verbs parallels the relationship of classifiers to M acting as nouns. /kuŋ^3/ also is a modifying particle.

(12) How many boys do you have?

oŋ	kɔ^1	ma·y^1	kɔŋ	ṭa·y
[you]	[have]	[how many	(child	boy)]
M	M	m	M	M

In the third — or O phrase — parentheses enclose the gloss of the modified-modifier word order.

(13) He is very cute

ɛm	nay^2	kɔ^1	mak^4	ye^3	thɨ·ŋ	lam^1
[child	this]	[has]	[face	((easy	love)	very)]
M	$\frac{m}{M}$	$\frac{M}{m}$	M	M	M	m

The components of the third — or Object — phrase are a number of modifiers of /mak^4/ face. Expansions by modifiers have a high frequency of occurrence in Vietnamese.

(14) You make (the hearts of) father and mother happy

ɛm	la·m^2	vuy	loŋ^2		t^{y}a	mɛ^4
[you]	[make	(happy	- stomach)]		[father	mother]
M	M	M	- M		M	M

In the second — or Verb — phrase, the modifier of /la·m^2/ make is enclosed in parentheses. /vuy loŋ^2 is a compound literally glossed happy-stomach but figuratively meaning gladdening the hearts of.

(15) Spring is a very beautiful season

mu·^{2}	su·ŋ	la^2	mok^4	mu·^{2}	rək^1	deb^4
[season	spring]	[is]	[one	season	(exceedingly	beautiful)]
M	M	M	m	M	m	M

/la^2/ is, the sole member (or nucleus) of the second, or Verb, phrase is glossed $\frac{M}{m}$ in the morpheme scatter profile. It acts as a particle ($\frac{m}{M}$) in other phrases.

(16) He lives in the biggest house

ən	ta·	ə·^{3}	ka·y^1	ña^2	thət^4	tɔ
[brother	our]	[live]	[classifier	house	(real	big)]
M	m	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M

(17 Cholera kills many people

bən^4	yit^4	lam^2	tʸɛt^1	ñiw^2	ŋɨ·y^2
[sickness	cholera]	[make	die]	[many	people]
M	M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	$\frac{M}{m}$

(18) The chicken jumped and flew up to a branch

kɔŋ	ga^{2}	ñay^{3}	bay	lɛn	kən^{2}	key
[classifier	chicken]	[jump	fly	go up]	[branch	tree]
$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M	M	M	M	M

The second, or Verb, phrase has as its components a series of concatenated major morphemes. This concatenation is a highly productive device for sentence expansions (or sentence transformation in the Chomsky sense). This same process of expansion occurs in sentences (19) and (20) following.

(19) I have been invited to attend a wedding

toy	dɨk^{4}	məy^{2}	di	yɨ^{4}	mok^{4} dam^{1}	kɨy^{1}
[I]	[passive	invite	go	attend]	[one festival	wedding]
M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$ M	M

(20) This child is as tall as that one

ɛm	nay2	ca·w	baŋ^{2}	ɛm	do^{1}
[child	this]	[tall	equals]	[child	that]
M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$

Sentences (21) through (25) show the profile [S(ubject) phrase] [V(erb) phrase] [L(ocative) phrase].

(21) Which village do you live in?

ɛm	ə·^{3}	la·ŋ^{2}	na·w^{2}
[you]	[live]	[village	which]
M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$

In the third — or Locative — phrase /na·w^2/ which is a phrase closing interrogative for eliciting unidentified species, or unknown individual, place, or time.

(22) When did you go to sleep?

ɛm	di	ŋu^3	luk^1	na·w^2
[you]	[go	sleep]	[moment	which]
M	M	M	M	m / M

In sentence (21) /na·w^2/ which elicited place; here in sentence (22), time is being elicited.

(23) The children looked on the house-roof

kak^1	kɔŋ	ṭoŋ	ṭɛn	ma·y^1	ña·^{2}
[plural	child]	[look]	[on	roof	house]
m	M	M	m	M	M

(24) I live here

toy	ə·^{3}	dey
[I]	[live]	[here]
M	M	M

(25) I am going back to Ballantine

toy	di	ye^2	ballantine
[I]	[go	return]	[Ballantine]
M	M	M	M

Sentence (26) shows the profile [L phrase] [V phrase] [S phrase].

(26) My father was buried yesterday

hom	wa	da^{3}	t^{y}ɔŋ kək^{1}	t^{y}a	toy
[yesterday	past]	[past	bury-bury]	[father	my]
M	$\frac{m}{M}$	m	M - M	M	M

Sentence (27) following shows the profile [L phrase] [V phrase] [L phrase].

(27) How many are there still on the roof?

ə·^{3}	ṭɛn	ma·y^{1}	kɔŋ^{2}	may^{1}	kɔŋ
[at	on	roof]	[remain]	[how many	interrog. classifier]
$\frac{m}{M}$	m	M	M	m	$\frac{M}{m}$

Sentence (27) has no subject phrase (or alternatively stated, subject is 'understood'). Again, in the third — or Locative — phrase, /kɔŋ/ is a phrase-final interrogative requesting yes-or-no, statements, or factual information.

Sentence (28) shows the profile [L phrase] [S phrase] [V phrase].

(28) When are you going to sleep?

ba·w	yə·^{2}	ɛm	di	ŋu^{3}
[what	hour]	[you]	[go	sleep]
m	M	M	M	M

Sentences (29) and (30) show the profile [S phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase][I(ndirect) O(bject) phrase].

(29) I give the book to you

toy	dɨ·	ən	wiŋ^{2}	ʂək^{1}
[I]	[give]	[brother]	[classifier	book]
M	M	M	m/M	M

(30) I would like to introduce you to Miss Lan

toy	mu·ŋ^{1}	yə·y^{1}	thiw^{4}	ba^{2}	və·y^{1}	ko	lan
[I]	[wish	introduce]	[you]	[with	aunt	Lian]	
M	M	M-M	M	m	M	M	

(31) That pupil was hit by his friend

ʈɔ^{2}	ki·	bi^{4}	baŋ^{4}	nɔ^{1}	dən^{1}
[pupil	that]	[passive	[friend	his]	hit]
M	m/M	m/M	M	M	M

Sentence (31) shows the profile [S phrase] [V phrase [Ag(entive) phrase]]. The agentive phrase / baŋ^{4} nɔ^{1}/ is flanked by the passive verb marker / bi^{4}/ and the Verb phrase nucleus / dən^{1}/ .

Sentence (32) shows the profile [S phrase] [L phrase] [V phrase] [O phrase].

(32) The children in a family are sons and daughters

ñɨ^{3}	dɨ·^{1}	kɔŋ	ʈoŋ	ya den^{2}	kɔ^{1}	kɔŋ	ʈa·y
[plural	classifier	child]	[in	family]	[has]	[child	boy
m	m/M	M	m	M-M	M	M	M

ya^{2}	ga·y^{1}
connector	girl]
m	M

Sentence (33) shows another kind of embedding. The profile shown is [S phrase] [V phrase [O phrase]]; i.e. [O phrase] is embedded in [V phrase]. Sentence (34) ff. has an [L phrase] embedded in [V phrase]. The profile shown for sentence (34) is [S phrase] [V phrase [L phrase]].

(33) You do this work very well

ən	lam^{2}	yɛk^{1}	nay^{2}	xɛw^{1}	lam^{1}
[you]	[do	[work	this]	skillful	very]
M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M

(34) I am coming back from Ballantine

toy	di	ballantine	ye^{2}
[I]	[go	[Ballantine]	return]
M	M	M	M

The remaining sentences, numbered (35) through (39) are given without specifying profiles. All involve expansions of phrase interiors already described for sentences above. Internal expansion of phrases has a high frequency of occurrence in Vietnamese.

(35) Yesterday I saw that tall, thin, bearded man

hom wa	toy	they^{1}	oŋ	dɔ^{1}	ni·y^{2}	ka·w	om^{1}	ya^{2}
[yesterday]	[I]	[saw]	[Mr.	that	person	(tall	thin	and
M m	M	M	M	$\frac{m}{M}$	M	M	M	m

kɔ[1]	raw
have	beard)]
M	M

(36) My husband is going to buy that tall white house

ña[2]	toy	sap[1]	mu·	ka.y[1]	ña[2]	taŋ[1]	ya[2]
[house	my]	[about to	buy]	[classifier	house	white	and
M	M	m	M	m/M	M	M	m
ca·w	ki·						
tall	that]						
M	m/M						

(37) Please dig this well two meters deep

oŋ	lam[1]	əŋ	da·w[2]	ka·y[1]	yi·ŋ[1]	nay[2]	šaw	them
[you]$_a$	[beg		dig]$_b$	[classifier	well	this]$_c$	[deep	more
M	M - M		M	m/M	M	m/M	M	M
ha·y	thɨ·k[1]							
two	meter]$_d$							
m/M	M							

(38) You cannot say beforehand so that I will know

ən	xoŋ	the[3]	nɔy[1]	tɨ·k	tʸɔ	ɛm	bi·k[1]	dɨ·k[4]
[you]	[not]	[can	say	before	give	me	know	ability]
M	m/M	m/M	M	M	M	m	M	m/M

(39) They've just built that road of earth and it's not dry yet, so that if it rains it will be very wet and muddy to go on

kɔŋ	dɨŋ^{2}	ey^{1}	hɔ^{4}	məy^{1}	dab^{1}	dət^{1}
[classifier	road	that]	[they]	[newly	pack	earth]
m/M	M	m/M	M	m/M	M	M

t^{y}ɨ·	xo	nɛn^{4}	təy^{2}	mɨ·	di	ley^{2}	wa^{1}
[not-yet	dry]	so	[sky	rain]	[go	wet mud	very]
m/M	M	m	M	M	M	M	m

The Following Abbreviations Will Be Used

AA	American Anthropologist
ACLS . .	American Council of Learned Societies
AES-P . . .	American Ethnological Society, Publication
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
APS-P . . .	American Philosophical Society, Proceedings
APS-T . . .	American Philosophical Society, Transactions
BAE-B . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
BAE-R . . .	Bureau of American Ethnology, Report
CU	Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IUPAL . . .	Indiana University Publications in Anthropology and Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JSAP	Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris
Lg	Language
RCPAFL . .	Research Center Publications in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics
SJA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
SIL	Studies in Linguistics
TCLP . . .	Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague
UMPL . . .	University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics
UCPAAE . .	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UCPL . . .	University of California Publications in Linguistics
VFPA . . .	Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology
WDWLS . .	William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series

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